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ABSTRACT

THIS REPORT EVALUATES THE UNITED NEIGHBORHOOD HOUSES NEIGHBORHOCD YOUTH CORPS PROGRAM (NEW YORK CITY) WHICH PROVIDES WORK EXPERIENCE, REMEDIATION AND COUNSELING SERVICES FOR APPROXIMATELY 150 HIGH SCHOOL DROPOUTS FROM LOW-INCOME FAMILIES. COUNSELING SERVICES, REMEDIAL EDUCATION, SKILL TRAINING, HEALTH SERVICES, AND JOB PLACEMENT ARE REVIEWED. ALSO INCLUDED ARE THE FINDINGS FROM INTERVIEWS WITH 55 CORPSMEN AND THEIR EMPLOYERS, THREE TO SIX WEEKS AFTER THEY HAD LEFT THE PROGRAM. (KG)

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STRENGTHENING THE NEIGHBORHOOD YOUTH CORPS

A report on the special services and research made possible by a grant from the Greater New York Fund to strengthen the Neighborhood Youth Corps program of United Neighborhood Houses

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United Neighborhood Houses
114 East 32nd Street, New York, N. Y. 10016

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Juliet F. Brudney

September 1969

CONTENTS

FOREWORD			I-II
INTRODUCTION			III-IV
CHAPTER	I	Program Structure and Participants	1
CHAPTER	II	Counselling Services	5
CHAPTER	III	Remedial Education	13
CHAPTER	IV	Skill Training	17
CHAPTER	V	Job Development	21
CHAPTER	VI	Follow-Up Interviewing	25
CHAPTER	VII	Conclusions and Recommendations	33

FOREWORD

For more than fifteen years United Neighborhood Houses and its 35 member settlements have been concerned with the mounting problem of jobless school drop-outs in our low income neighborhoods. Aware of the reluctance of neighborhood-bound youngsters to travel to the centrally located youth employment offices, UNH in the late 'fifties brought pressure on the State to decentralize their youth services in New York City. Using the privately financed counseling center at University Settlement as a model, by the summer of 1960 there were 35 youth employment offices in settlements, Y's and other neighborhood based locations. Unfortunately, budget limitations did not permit adequate staffing.

The young people flocked in. Many had to be helped to fill out the simplest application blank, to find their way through the maze of the City's transportation system to prospective employers, and then to put a reasonably good foot forward in an interview.

So reluctant were employers in those days to take on the hard core unemployed that every placement involved an average of ten employer contacts by the youth counselors. The drop-outs were both illiterate and unskilled and, in addition, beset by family problems. Thousands remained unemployed and frustrated.

With the successful depression-born National Youth Administration experience in mind, United Neighborhood Houses pulled together a citywide committee of experts from public and private agencies and developed a plan for a New York City Youth Corps, based on the NYA work experience program. At the same time, we worked to get the Youth Employment Opportunities Acts of 1962 and 1963 passed in Washington. The City Youth Corps idea gave way to JOIN, a federally financed New York City program of outreach to the most hard core and "jobs in the neighborhoods." The Youth Employment Act was to become the basis for the Job Corps and the Neighborhood Youth Corps under the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964.

For four years, as described later in this report, UNH worked to make the Neighborhood Youth Corps a successful work experience program in our settlements. Again the problem was insufficient money for adequate staffing. Remediation became an effort to move reading and math skills up a grade or two. Lack of funds to mount a realistic and varied skills training program vitiated the intent of the work experience, with one or two notable exceptions. It was not until The Greater New York Fund made a grant of $50,000 to UNH for a short term try with an "enrichment" program, including some skill training and follow up, that we were able to experiment with a really adequate program for Neighborhood Youth Corps youth.

The methods used, the results, the problems remaining still unsolved, are described in the ensuing pages. Two unexpected and highly important developments give us leads for the future:

First, we found a need for basic job-related educational materials geared to the level of the trainee and to the significant dimensions of the job for which he was being

trained. Widespread search and inquiry revealed that most materials now in use are no more relevant to youth's job concerns today than are the "Dick and Jane" readers in first grade. If we want such pertinent materials, we shall have to develop them ourselves from scratch. The Alfred P. Sloan Foundation has seen the importance of this and has made UNH a small grant with which to get started.

Concurrently, in the course of the GNYF project, we demonstrated that settlements based in the neighborhood and aware of the many job-impeding problems in the families, were far better equipped to provide supportive services to young trainees than were most of the new centralized profit-making agencies which were attempting to persuade employers to use their services under the United States Labor Department's MA-4 and MA-5 programs.

Colony-South Brooklyn settlement had begun to experiment in this field. Last spring nine more houses joined with Colony and UNH in raising a modest budget to form the Settlement Houses Employment Development, Inc. (SHED) with a small staff to help employers contract with the Labor Department and sub-contract with the settlements for services. SHED began operating August 1, 1969. Part of its job will be the Sloan Foundation project. These two developments can have far-reaching effects, stemming directly from our learnings from the GNYF program.

United Neighborhood Houses is most grateful to the Board of Trustees of The Fund for their imagination in making the grant and for the opportunity they have given us to try to meet some of the more serious employment problems of our jobless youth.

Helen M. Harris
Executive Director

September 25, 1969

INTRODUCTION

The following report describes a program involving approximately 150 teenaged high school drop-outs enrolled in United Neighborhood Houses' Neighborhood Youth Corps during the period September 15, 1968 to January 15, 1969. It also includes the findings from interviews with 55 of these young people and their employers three to six weeks after they left the program. A grant from the Greater New York Fund made many of the services and all of the interviewing possible.

United Neighborhood Houses has been administering a Neighborhood Youth Corps program in its member settlement houses since 1965. Financed by the United States Department of Labor, the Youth Corps was designed as a work experience for low income high school drop-outs aged 16-21. Youngsters are assigned to work stations in non-profit private and public agencies under the supervision of the regular employees of the agency, i.e., secretary, switchboard operator, janitor, nursery school teacher. The government pays the enrollee $45 for a thirty hour week and grants the sponsoring agency funds to employ special personnel at a ratio of approximately one $7,000 to $8,000 staff person for every 20 to 30 enrollees. The special staff are responsible for recruiting the enrollees, time sheets and payroll, follow-up on absences, tardiness and other on-the-job problems, counselling, educational remediation, job referrals, etc.

In practice, the special staff were obliged to spend much of their time coping with procedural matters (in-take, time sheets, payroll sheets, etc.) and with the frequent crises resulting from the chaotic funding by the government. The substance of the program in terms of work experiences, remediation, counselling and other special services which many youngsters needed in order to become employable suffered accordingly. On-the-job supervisors had their own work to get out and few could devote time to train enrollees in the skills of the work-placement such as typing, child care, carpentry. Too often the enrollee found himself in exactly the same predicament he had faced in school -- an assignment which was either too difficult to handle or too routine to stimulate his interests and develop his skills.

The nature of the special services to be provided by the Youth Corps staff to the enrollees was left almost entirely to the sponsoring agency. The government funders offered little guidance on remediation techniques and materials, counselling goals and methods and similar operational dimensions. This lack of direction was especially regrettable in view of the multi-faceted needs of the Youth Corps population and the absence of tried-and-tested experience upon which to draw.

In order to overcome some of these deficiencies, United Neighborhood Houses asked the Greater New York Fund for a one year grant to provide additional services to the 200 Neighborhood Youth Corpsmen allocated to UNH by the City.* The Greater New York

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* While this request was pending, the City reduced the number of Youth Corps placements in all agencies by 25%.

Fund was able to grant only about one-fourth of the request, and the proposed program was restructured accordingly. All enrollees in UNH-NYC from September 15, 1968 to January 15, 1969 received extra help with basic education, job-impeding personal needs, vocational goals, job placement. A few also received skill training. Some of the grant was used to conduct and analyze follow-up interviews with enrollees who left the program and with their employers. Additional interviewing is still taking place and the findings will appear as a supplement to this report.

United Neighborhood Houses is grateful to the Greater New York Fund for making these short-term services possible. Many of the young people were able to take substantial steps forward as a result. The rewards to them and to society from similarly serious efforts to develop the employability of the hard-core can be as significant as the penalties all of us will continue to pay for inadequate and superficial programs.

CHAPTER I

PROGRAM STRUCTURE AND PARTICIPANTS

Re-organization

In order to derive maximum benefits from the Greater New York Fund grant, United Neighborhood Houses re-assigned all of its Neighborhood Youth Corps staff and enrollees to four settlement houses early in September 1968: Claremont Neighborhood Center in the Bronx, James Weldon Johnson Community Centers in East Harlem, Morningside Community Center in Central Harlem, Colony-South Brooklyn Houses in Brooklyn. Previously, Youth Corps programs had been in twenty-five settlements. Concentration in four, it was hoped, would enable the staff to function as a team and, consequently, provide better services to enrollees.

Although many young people were already in the UNH program at the beginning of September, additional recruiting was necessary. Government funds had been frozen for several months until the end of August; therefore UNH had not been permitted to fill vacancies created by enrollees who dropped out or who were placed in jobs. Recruitment resumed in September and continued throughout the course of the program in order to maintain an enrollee population of 150.

Each Settlement Center had a team of three professional staff (Coordinator, Remediation Teacher, Counsellor) and a part-time Secretary-Receptionist. The Central Staff included a Director, Field Supervisor, Job Developer and Remediation Specialist. All staff were asked to record their daily work for purposes of this report. Special forms were designed, some of which were subsequently adopted by the City for use in all Youth Corps programs.

Enrollees

The information that follows describes 159 enrollees who were in the program as of November 1, 1968, or had been in the program for several weeks between September 15 and that date.[1] The characteristics of those who entered the program after November 1 were not appreciably different.

Of the 159 enrollees, 127 were female; 32 were male. Median age was 19. The enrollees had been in UNH-NYC for an average of four and one half months with a median stay of three months.

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[1] Twenty-five left the program for various reasons before November 1.

Well over half of the young people had been referred to UNH-NYC by public employment agencies. Referral sources for the 149 on whom we have information are:

Public Employment Services (NYSES, YOC, NYC, MCDA)	84
UNH and Settlement Houses	39
Friends and Relatives	14
Department of Social Services	7
Other Social Agencies	2
Probation Department	2
Schools	1

Sixty-three percent were receiving public assistance from 13 different welfare centers.

Twenty-five percent lived in two parent households. Forty percent lived with one parent, in all but three instances, the mother. Seventeen percent lived with other members of their family: 12 with brothers and/or sisters; 8 with aunts; three with mother and grandmother; one with cousin. Eight percent lived alone, another eight percent with their husbands. The others lived with friends or alone with their children. Thirty one enrollees, 20% of the total, had children. The majority had one child but several had two or three. Most of the enrollees who had children did not have their own households.

The average household size was 5.4 persons; the average apartment size was four rooms. Approximately 1/3 of the enrollees reported living in households of six or more persons. One enrollee lived with 12 brothers and sisters and his parents. Housing conditions appeared to be fair to good because many enrollees lived in public housing projects.[2]

Education skills upon entering the program tested well below junior high school levels although the average school grade completed was 9.6. Math achievement scores showed a 5.8 grade average, 5.2 median. Eighteen percent scored below third grade and only nine percent scored above eighth grade.

About one-third of the enrollees had held jobs. Their employment had been short-term (several days to 8 months) and in blue collar unskilled categories such as factory sorter or packer, waitress, busboy, delivery boy. A few had been in the Job Corps.

The young corpsmen appeared to have extremely modest vocational goals. Clerical work was the most common ambition among the girls. Their other job goals, in order of

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[2] Ratings of housing, we believe, may be unreliable. They were usually based on a simple inquiry to the young person when he first entered the program, as to whether he had any special housing needs. Often problems arose, or were disclosed at a later date.

frequency, were teacher's aide, nursing, usually nurse's aide, sewing, switchboard operator. The boys ranked construction work first followed by banking, TV repair, painter, salesman, truck driver, carpenter and photographer. Only three enrollees expressed a desire to go on to college.

It is important to note, here, that the instrument used to identify enrollee interests, skills, ambitions was a primitive one and that the staff employing it had not received any special training in interviewing techniques. Because they were responsible for supervising an on-going program, the staff's approach to in-take was largely to determine eligibility, i.e., income-level, age, educational level. Moreover, attitudinal and other background factors may have come out during the course of the interview and not been noted on the simple fact sheet used as the in-take guide.

CHAPTER II

COUNSELLING SERVICES

Introduction

Teenagers, whatever their socio-economic background, are apt to have personal problems which may interfere with their job potential and performance -- parental conflict, identity crises, anxiety about the future, depression about the present -- adolescence can be a painful, troubled period. Youth Corps enrollees were also forced to cope with the multiple and corrosive consequences of growing up poor and of still living in a poverty-ridden environment. Parents and other adults from whom they could seek advice and help were usually as problem-ridden and powerless as themselves. Under the Neighborhood Youth Corps program there had been little time on the part of the staff or enrollees to work on the complicated and varied issues that arose. The special grant made possible a quantitative increase in counselling services, which in turn, led to considerable improvement in quality.

Counselling usually entailed at least one individual and one group session every week for each enrollee plus considerable time on his part and staff's for follow-through efforts. Individual sessions lasting from one half hour to two hours dealt with problems peculiar to the enrollee, which were clearly or potentially work-related. The counsellor attempted to identify and discuss these issues. Plans were then formulated by counsellor and enrollee to attack priorities. Group counselling focussed on the more general dimensions of employment: job-availability, training possibilities, employment interviews, work attitudes, proper dress, etc.

Effective counsellors were able to identify quickly the problems of each enrollee which were most likely to be job-impeding and then help him tackle them effectively. The counsellor needed substantive knowledge as well as technical skills to perform the required diagnostic and assistance functions. The young person was often confused, inarticulate, timid and uninformed about his needs. In order to describe the counselling services provided to an individual in some depth, we are presenting the work of one Center. Although there were considerable variations in emphasis, the problems of its enrollees and the services rendered to meet them characterized all of the Centers.

Counselling One Individual

Roberto was having trouble with his Youth Corps work-assignment. He was often late and appeared to be nervous and distracted. His counsellor was able to win Roberto's confidence and learned that family troubles were at the root of his difficulties. They were about to be evicted and had no alternative housing. To make matters worse, their welfare assistance had been cut off. The mother was in poor health and could not take a job.

The counsellor helped the enrollee locate and secure immediate housing for his family through a careful follow-up of newspaper advertisements. The apartment was only fair, and the counsellor advised the family to apply for public housing. He helped the mother obtain and file an application for a nearby low-rent project, went to see the project manager, described the family's need and urged that they be accommodated as quickly as possible. The counsellor also contacted the family's former caseworker at the Department of Social Services and had financial assistance restored.

During these early counselling sessions, it became clear that Roberto was both confused and unrealistic about his future. He over-estimated his present qualifications and refused to consider evening classes where he might be able to improve his job chances. The counsellor asked the Job Developer to spend some time with Roberto and try to discover what he really wanted to do. The youngster was unresponsive and vague.

The counsellor decided to refer Roberto to a Photography Training Unit in a nearby settlement house. The boy liked the course and became enthusiastic about photography as a potential career. After several weeks, a job interview was arranged with a publishing company. Roberto was accepted and told to report for work in a few weeks. Shortly after the interview, Roberto visited the counsellor and expressed fears and doubts about the prospective job. During a long and intense session, he revealed that he was afraid he could not handle the job, that he could only cope with menial tasks. At the same time he voiced disdain for this kind of work. The counsellor tried to help Roberto recognize this inconsistency, examine the possible reasons for it and lay the groundwork for self-confidence so that the job-placement would succeed. He placed particular emphasis on the importance of educational skills. Roberto was able to see the connection between his anxieties about the job and his reading and math deficiencies. Until then he had refused to consider preparing for the High School Equivalency examination. The counsellor referred Roberto to night classes in the neighborhood, and the boy enrolled.

During the course of these contacts, the counsellor learned that Roberto's teeth were bothering him. Although covered by Medicaid, he had not seen a dentist for some time. The counsellor helped him to arrange for dental care.

Roberto reported for work at the publishing house. It remains to be seen whether he will stay on the job and make progress, whether he will complete his high school education should he fail to pass (or take) the equivalency test.

Overview of Counselling

Like Roberto most enrollees had more than one job-impeding problem. In order of frequency but not necessarily of intensity, issues connected with health, work goals and financial needs accounted for three-fifths of the problems counselled. In order to give some indication of the outcome on these problems during the report period, counselling records were analyzed and classified according to three categories: positive, i.e., the immediate problem was solved; negative, i.e., the immediate problem, despite efforts,

was not resolved; unresolved, i.e., the immediate problem was still being worked on at the end of the report period. Of the 92 individual problems on which counselling records were kept at the Sample Center, 49% had positive outcomes, 38% were still unresolved and 13% had negative results at the end of the report period. Counselling efforts and outcomes at the other three Settlement Centers followed similar patterns. The following cases illustrate the major problem categories:

A) Health

POSITIVE

Early one Monday morning, Joyce R., a pregnant enrollee, appeared at the Center, visibly upset. She had been bleeding since Saturday evening and was afraid she had miscarried. The counsellor urged her to call her doctor and arrange for an immediate examination. The enrollee, however, was reluctant to call and even more reluctant to go to a hospital. Only after an hour of discussion and firm insistence by the counsellor, did Joyce call her doctor. His office was unresponsive to her request that he speak with her, vague about his whereabouts. Moments later the counsellor called, identified himself and demanded to know where the doctor could be reached. He was immediately connected. Upon informing him of Joyce's condition, the counsellor was told to send her to the doctor's office immediately. Again, the enrollee expressed reservations and again, the counsellor was sympathetic but firm. Later that evening Joyce telephoned the counsellor. She had been admitted to the hospital, had, in fact, miscarried, was receiving the required medical attention. She expected to be back at work in a few days. Had she delayed (or been denied) the proper treatment, her health (and employability) might have suffered serious consequences.

NEGATIVE

Dorothy R. appeared to be extremely nervous and in poor health. In the course of contacting a nearby hospital clinic to arrange for a check-up, the counsellor learned that Dorothy had refused to participate in after-care treatment, there, following release from a State hospital where she had been sent for drug-addiction. The counsellor spent several weeks attempting to persuade Dorothy to use the aftercare service. The enrollee's absences from the Center increased sharply. When questioned, she said she was attending the after-care program. But a check proved this to be false. Absences continued and finally UNH-NYC was forced to drop Dorothy from the program.

B) Work Goals

POSITIVE

Joey had no clear vocational goals. He was bored with his work assignment at the settlement, often tardy, quite inattentive. His counsellor learned about a Photography Training program at a nearby settlement house and urged Joey to try it. Joey agreed to

apply and became actively interested after only a few days. He supplemented the materials assigned to him by the program's remediation teacher with outside reading about photography and did exceptionally well. With the help of the photo instructor, he secured a part-time assignment at a nearby school of journalism taking photographs for a communications course. He was referred to a full-time job in photography and hired.

PENDING

Miguel wanted a job as an auto mechanic because of four years' experience in this field before he left Puerto Rico. But he had severe language limitations and resulting educational deficiencies (fourth grade math and reading). Attempts by staff to help him overcome these handicaps through remediation and counselling were greeted with disgruntled resistance and chronic absences. After several weeks, Miguel was referred to an auto mechanics training program. Following the interview the enrollee was absent from the Center for several days. When the counsellor located him, the enrollee gave a vague account of "losing the job." The counsellor contacted the training site and discovered that Miguel had been rejected at the interview because of insufficient English. The counsellor persuaded Miguel to come back into the Center's program. His rejection by the training program was thoroughly discussed. Miguel re-examined the counsellor's suggestion about returning to school and registered. He was also referred to ASPIRA, a Puerto Rican youth organization concerned with education. At the conclusion of the report period he was thinking about returning to school, full-time.

C) Financial

POSITIVE

Lizzy was having serious difficulties living with her mother and step-father. The friction and tension at home affected her performance at the Center. She wanted to move into her own apartment but couldn't afford to. In the course of counselling, Lizzy disclosed that she was owed back payments by the Job Corps. The counsellor contacted the Job Corps and helped Lizzy fill out the forms to secure payment. The counselor also helped her to apply for and obtain supplementary assistance from the Department of Social Services so that she was able to have her own place.

D) Education

POSITIVE

Maria obtained a part-time job at a cleaning establishment and left UNH-NYC but continued to keep in touch with her counsellor. Hoping to progress to a full-time placement at a higher level of skills, she felt she needed additional knowledge about the financial aspects of business. Her former counsellor made arrangements at an evening high school, and Maria enrolled in a bookkeeping course.

POSITIVE

Joyce B. left a medical examination convinced she had a brain tumor because she had seen "brain tumor" on the medical report. Her apprehension was so severe when she reported to the Center that the counsellor contacted the hospital social worker immediately. The enrollee, she learned, had been examined for a tumor, but the results were negative. Joyce had mis-read a report which was not intended for her. The social worker also told the counsellor that the enrollee had a long history of psychosomatic illness. A psychiatric examination was arranged and treatment was initiated. Subsequently, Joyce took part in key punch training, did exceptionally well and was placed in a good key punch job.

Health Services

There were more problems around health than any other substantive area. This, in part, resulted from UNH-NYC's special emphasis on health concerns. Not only were many of the enrollees plagued by health problems, but their families -- (parents, grandparents, siblings, offspring) -- also suffered from serious illness and poor health. Lacking medical care, especially on an on-going preventive basis, these illnesses and disabilities often prevented youngsters from attending Youth Corps and from getting or keeping jobs.

An evaluation of the health services enrollees were (or had been) receiving revealed that health services were used primarily for emergency and/or special problems. Dental care was virtually nonexistent. The counsellor's first task was to make sure that all of the enrollees eligible for Medicaid understood and exercised that right. The application process was often difficult and humiliating. The young person, despite information and encouragement from his counsellor, might not take the necessary steps to overcome the bureaucratic barriers. The counsellor, therefore, often escorted the young person to the Medicaid center and helped him through application procedures.

It was especially important that the non-welfare enrollee try to get coverage. Without it, a health problem could mean financial as well as physical duress. Susan B. was no longer covered by her mother's Medicaid because she had moved into her own apartment with a friend. UNH-NYC had referred Susan to the Telephone Company for a job. She was hired only to be dismissed several weeks later when a medical examination revealed a hearing defect. Susan came back into the Youth Corps. Her counsellor reiterated earlier advice, urging Susan to apply for Medicaid. Susan was now eager to do so. She was intent on getting a job and she knew she needed medical assistance to correct her hearing disability. Center staff helped her complete the Medicaid application and advised her to return it to the Medicaid center personally in order to speed the procedures. This she did. A week later the application was mailed back to Susan with a request that the application be signed by her mother, a requirement not mentioned when she had seen Medicaid workers on two prior occasions. Meanwhile Susan had been referred to another job by UNH-NYC. She failed the typing test. Only after this event did she inform her counsellor that her glasses had broken just before the interview and she had not

been able to see. She hadn't wanted the counsellor to know, fearing that someone else would be sent to fill the opening. Susan again returned to the Youth Corps and, at the end of the report period, was still awaiting her Medicaid card.

In addition to obtaining Medicaid coverage for all those eligible, counsellors also attempted to arrange a complete physical examination for every enrollee in order to identify problems and initiate services to meet them. The appropriate commissioner in the City Health Department was asked early in October to help arrange for physicals. After many telephone calls and letters over a period of weeks, the Department merely provided names of possible resources near each of the four Centers. The counsellors contacted these as well as other nearby health facilities. Two settlements were able to use health centers; one arranged for examinations at an out-patient department of a hospital; one, finding no nearby facility willing to give more than a few enrollee appointments, used a variety of facilities. The three with arrangements at one facility sent the counsellor with groups of five to eight enrollees one day each week for the examinations. The physical usually included chest x-rays, standard laboratory tests, eye examinations and dental checks. When medical treatment was required, the Health Center made the referral. One facility provided psychiatric services. Unfortunately, these arrangements were not solidified until mid-December and we, therefore, have few data on problems uncovered, and services obtained. Hopefully, some of the enrollees who applied for and received Medicaid coverage and who had physical check-ups and treatment became aware of their personal stake in preventive and regular health care and gained some ability to cope with the complicated and often unresponsive procedures leading to services. The dire shortage of health services for poverty youth and their families will undoubtedly seriously handicap their efforts.

Group Counselling

Each enrollee participated in group counselling as well as individual sessions approximately once a week. The groups ranged in size from eight to fifteen enrollees. Techniques used included role-playing, tapes, films, guest speakers as well as group discussion. The following topics were covered:

Employability -- Attitudes toward work and work supervisors. Need for training. Punctuality. A successful interview. How to discuss grievances with employers. How to fill out job applications. Job benefits -- insurance, compensation. Reading and interpreting classified ads. Methods and resources for finding a job. Writing business letters in response to ads. Preparing a resume.

Physical Health -- Drug addiction. Health check-ups. Diet and nutrition. Eligibility for Medicaid.

Public Affairs -- The election. Integration vs. separatism. Black leaders.

Education -- Returning to school. How to prevent dropping out.

Youth Corps Problems -- Theft within the group. Payday procedures. Budgeting $38.92 effectively (enrollees' take home pay).

At one Center, enrollees participated in a special group counselling service conducted by two graduate social work students (one male, one female) and supervised by the settlement house's Director of Social Work. Sessions with the girls dealt with personal in-the-home problems. Those with the boys were job-oriented. All male enrollees at the Center were invited to join the group if their schedules permitted and if they wished to participate. Six meetings took place during the report period. A total of 12 boys participated but attendance was sporadic. The worker encouraged the boys to speak their minds about the Youth Corps program. He told them he would do his best to help with whatever problems they had. Some of the boys were critical of the Youth Corps' lack of skill training and of the quality of the remediation. They also resented being asked by staff to perform menial jobs such as setting up furniture, moving typewriters, etc. With the boys' permission, the worker asked for a conference with the Coordinator to discuss these grievances. This was followed up by a conference between the boys and the Coordinator. As a result, special tutoring in reading was arranged for two of the enrollees. The others derived some satisfaction, the worker believed, from the opportunity to have voiced their discontents.

The worker was most successful with the two enrollees to whom he gave job placement help. Sam wanted to get into a training program in which he could earn enough money to support himself. Neighborhood Youth Corps pay was too low. The worker gathered information about several programs from the Center staff. He discussed the possibility of a bank training opportunity with Sam. Sam was interested. An interview appointment was arranged at the bank. The enrollee and the worker met at the Center the morning of the interview, discussed the questions which might be asked. Sam was nervous and apprehensive, sure that he wouldn't do well, that he'd make a poor impression, be unable to talk. The worker reassured him, tried to get Sam to relax and went with the enrollee to the bank. He remained at his side during the interview, continued to try to make Sam more at ease and confident. Sam was accepted for the job.

Joey was also interested in finding employment at liveable pay where he could learn a skill. The worker set up an interview with an advertising company recommended to him by the settlement director. The appointment was set several weeks in advance, after the Christmas holidays. The worker was worried. He wouldn't be coming to the Center during the holidays, and he was afraid Joey might forget the appointment or change his mind. He telephoned the boy to remind him of his interview date twice during the holidays. The second call revealed that Joey had lost the interview address. The worker gave him the necessary information. Joey was accepted for the company's training program.

Toward the end of the report period, three former enrollees who had participated in the group counselling but were now working asked for special sessions one evening a week. They wanted an opportunity to discuss their daily work problems with the counsellor. The worker agreed. The group met weekly for some time, but had to be terminated when the worker graduated from social work school.

CHAPTER III

REMEDIAL EDUCATION

Under the regular Neighborhood Youth Corps program, enrollees were to receive ten hours a week of remedial education. The special grant enabled UNH-NYC to offer additional help with reading, language skills, arithmetic and, for those who were eligible, preparation for high school equivalency exams. Most enrollees spent at least 15 hours a week in remediation.

Because enrollees had widely varying abilities, all four Centers attempted some sort of ability grouping. At one Center, 12 enrollees who were potential candidates for the high school equivalency examination worked together; young people for whom 8th-9th grade level was the goal were in a second class; 8 enrollees with severe learning disabilities comprised the third group. Enrollees were graduated from one group to another as soon as their progress permitted. At another Center with fewer enrollees and a wide range of educational skills among them, the young people received a good deal of individual instruction and specially designed homework assignments. Those with severe learning disabilities and/or disruptive behavior patterns were tutored separately on a one-to-one basis. Enrollees responded especially well to individual instruction. Unfortunately, staff and volunteer time was limited. Many enrollees who might have benefited from individual tutoring could not be served.

The teachers developed their own curriculum and format. In math, conventional methods such as workbooks, drills and blackboard work were generally used. English usage and reading utilized techniques ranging from standard approaches (silent and oral reading, group reading and discussion, written compositions and book reports) to less conventional methods such as word games (crossword puzzles, Scrabble, Password), tapes, trips to events and places ("Harlem on My Mind" at The Metropolitan Museum; the Schomburg Collection of Negro Literature and History, New York Public Library), films. Role-playing was utilized occasionally. At one Center enrollees enacted a scene from one of the books they were reading. Four enrollees successively assumed the role of the teacher in a disruptive classroom. The class discussed each approach.

Some attempt was made to encourage enrollees to participate in curriculum development. Youngsters in one class developed, typed and stenciled original materials based on classroom discussion which were then used by the entire class.

The following written materials were utilized. Those which were used most frequently are marked with an asterisk (*).

Barron's Vocabulary Builder
Basic Arithmetic
Basket of Flowers
*Be A Better Reader

Breaking the Reading Barriers
Conquests in Reading
(The) Contender
Daily News
Down These Mean Streets
English Made Easier
English This Way
Harlem Summer
High School Equivalency Examination Book
Invisible Man
(The) Learning Tree
Magic World of Dr. Spello
Martin Luther King, Jr.
Native Son
New York Post
New York Times
Phonics We Use
Poetry: A Closer Look
Reading For Pleasure
Reading Skillbooks, I, II
*Refresher Mathematics
Rosemary's Baby
*SRA Computation Skills Development Kit
*SRA Reading Laboratory
*SRA Words
*Systems for Success Series
Yellow Rolls Royce

Each Center attempted to identify and instruct potential candidates for high school equivalency. One Center saw to it that prospective candidates applied for and took the test. Because of the school strike, the examination was not being given in NY City. One settlement tried to find out when the next examination would be given near to New York and discovered that it was to take place in Yonkers. The eight enrollees who seemed ready were accompanied by a counsellor to the first day of the two-day exam. All of them lived in Brooklyn, and the Yonkers location was a long, complicated trip. Similar escort service was not provided the second day because the youngsters had insisted that it wouldn't be needed. One enrollee overslept; two lost their way; only five completed the examination. Of these five, two passed. The remaining scored only a few points below passing and plans were made for them to retake the test after a few more weeks of preparation.

One of the successful HSE applicants illustrates the hidden capacities which may be present in many "hard-core unemployed" youth. Elizabeth B. entered the UNH-NYC program having completed ninth grade. Her mother who came from Puerto Rico was on welfare. Elizabeth's reading and math skills tested at eleventh grade level. After three months of HSE classes at the UNH-NYC Center, both her math and reading scores surpassed

12th grade. The settlement director, convinced that Elizabeth could do well in college, made arrangements for her to take the Scholastic Aptitude Test. She did very well (570 verbal, 450 math). Her high school equivalency score of 287 was 62 points above passing and only 38 points short of perfect. Elizabeth was accepted for a job with an advertising firm through a referral by the settlement director. Every morning she attends college preparatory classes at the firm. An organization which counsels talented ghetto students on college helped her to obtain a four year full scholarship at a small first-rate New England college. She will enter this September.

There was considerable improvement in educational skills during the special program for some young people. Abbreviated forms of the Gates Reading Survey test and Wide Range Achievement test were used for in-take testing of reading and mathematical abilities, respectively. Testing at the end of the report period or when the enrollee left the program for a job used the complete Gates Reading Survey, Form II, thus testing "speed and accuracy" and "reading vocabulary" as well as "level of comprehension." The complete test was given to obtain a fuller picture of the enrollee's ability. The complete Gates Test may have been more difficult than the abbreviated form and influenced the final scores accordingly. Final math testing was done with a test utilizing the same mathematical operations as the in-take test but different numbers.

The average period of remediation was three months. Final scores show an average increase in mathematical abilities of slightly less than one grade level (+.9), with enrollees moving from 5.4 to 6.3. Twenty-two percent of the total test population increased their math score by two grade levels or more. Final reading scores showed an increase of slightly more than one grade level (+1.1), with the group moving from 5.1 to 6.2. Twenty-six percent of the total test population were able to improve reading skills by two grades or more over a period of time averaging three months, or approximately 200 hours.

Enrollees, we believe are capable of far greater gains if remediation techniques and materials are improved. The regular Youth Corps program assumes that the complicated technical problems and the difficult administrative demands of a constantly changing student population, almost all of whom have experienced failure and discouragement in obtaining educational skills, can somehow be handled by each sponsoring agency. The funds made available per enrollee for teachers and materials represent a tiny fraction of the money spent by the public schools to educate these same youth. It is a tribute to the teachers and the enrollees that any progress takes place. There is little exchange of ideas among sponsors' staffs, no systematic evaluation of program results, no in-service training for personnel. Remediation, like counselling, has never been programmed. The special consultant, made possible by the Greater New York Fund grant, could be employed for a few months only. A number of useful procedures were initiated during that period. But a far more substantial effort is needed to rationalize, direct and evaluate remediation services.

CHAPTER IV

SKILL TRAINING

Young people from the ghetto who drop out of school and have had little job experience need a marketable skill if they are to become self-supporting. Without skill, youngsters will probably be forced to take jobs at minimum wage rates which too often will also be dead-end positions. If he's lucky, a youth may obtain employment in a special on-the-job training program, such as the JOBS effort. But there are still very few such openings.

Skill training has never been possible in the Neighborhood Youth Corps under the funding arrangements with the Labor Department. The Greater New York Fund grant, it was hoped, would make it possible to provide enrollees with this all-important prerequisite to upward economic mobility. The short duration of the grant, however, presented a serious obstacle. Special funds would be required over a period of at least a year to justify capital outlay for space and equipment. A plan was, therefore, evolved to locate existing resources for skill training and purchase their services.

Typing training was made available by the City Youth Corps. Key punch training was purchased from a commercial school. A small photography training program, sponsored by a settlement house in East Harlem, was also utilized. It was impossible to locate and develop other resources quickly enough to utilize them during the program period. However, as a direct result of efforts made possible by the grant, thirty Youth Corpsmen were given 120 hours of training as typists (25) and key punch operators (5) by a private training firm after the report period. A second group is about to receive the same training. The training was financed by a banking concern.

During the report period, 95 enrollees participated in at least one training program: 86 in touch typing; 10 in key punch; 9 in photo technology. Seven of the ten enrollees in key punch and 3 of the 9 in photography also participated in typing training.

Touch Typing

The New York City Youth Corps had arranged with a private training institution to provide typing training to Youth Corps enrollees from all over the City. UNH-NYC filled many of the openings. The program had three phases:

1. A twelve hour course in understanding the typewriter in which no actual typing took place.
2. A twelve hour intermediate course in typing skills.
3. A sixteen hour course in clerk-typist training.

Of the 86 enrollees who participated during the report period, 45 completed Phase 1; 15 completed Phase 2; one completed Phase 3.

Unfortunately, the skill trainers from the private company and UNH-NYC staff had no relationship with each other throughout the course of the typing program and thus could not reinforce and supplement each other's efforts. Neither the training company nor the City Youth Corps provided UNH-NYC with written reports on performance, progress, problems, etc. The youngsters took their training at a downtown location and then returned to the Centers for remediation, counselling and other UNH-NYC services. When the enrollees were tested by UNH-NYC several weeks after their training had ceased, the scores were very low (average - 14 words per minute) although a few were at a considerably higher level (48 words per minute). Most of the top scores were achieved by enrollees at the one UNH-NYC Center with a staff member who had once taught typing. She gave the youngsters additional instruction and practice.

Eighteen of the enrollees who took touch typing had been placed in jobs by the end of the report period, 14 in office jobs. Eight had completed Phase 1, and were employed as follows: key punch (2)*, typist (2), verifier*, receptionist, informationist, telephone operator. Of the six who had completed Phase 2, four had jobs as typists, one as a key punch operator, and one as a filing and billing clerk.

Photo Technician Training

Four enrollees completed a 200 hour ten week course in photo technology (photography techniques, photo laboratory skills, such as developing, touch-up,etc.). Several additional Corpsmen did not complete the program either because of lack of interest or because the instructor asked that they be withdrawn. Of the four graduates, the instructor rated one as outstanding, one as excellent in photo skills but in need of additional counselling, two as average. All had jobs by the end of the report period: one in a photography shop; one as editorial trainee; two in fields unrelated to their training.

Key Punch

UNH arranged with a key punch training school, SETAB, to train ten enrollees in key punch skills at a rate approximately one-third the school's regular fee. SETAB's director and UNH-NYC built a number of special dimensions into the training effort in order to minimize the problems which both had experienced in prior efforts to train hard-core youth. The criteria for selecting trainees, it was felt, would determine, in large part, whether the training would "take." A positive but realistic attitude towards key punch work was essential. Training would require regular attendance, three hours each afternoon at a location some distance from each Center for at least six weeks. The tedious nature of the work and the need for close concentration should be faced up to in advance to guard against frustration and dropping out. Youngsters should also be told that key punch would not lead immediately, or perhaps ever, to glamor positions in the computer field. On the other

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* These employees, however, had also completed the key punch training.

hand, key punch jobs paid fairly well and firms might help employees move up to better paid and more responsible positions as verifiers and supervisors.

UNH-NYC counsellors were briefed carefully on these factors and asked to discuss them fully with potentially eligible youngsters in their Centers. Twenty-seven enrollees were sent down for a screening interview with SETAB staff. Enrollees had been advised that only ten openings were available and that they might not be selected.

Just before the classes started, a committee of SETAB and UNH-NYC met to establish procedures for reporting progress and problems. Once the training was underway, there were frequent telephone conversations between the counsellors at the Centers and the SETAB liaison worker. In addition, the teacher prepared weekly attendance and progress reports for UNH-NYC so that the Center staff could move in on problems (absences, slowness, etc.). The progress reports included ratings on speed and accuracy, comments on motivation and comprehension, periodic test scores.

The attempt to present the opportunity honestly and to screen applicants carefully was apparently fairly successful. Most of the trainees responded well to the course. The mutual involvement from the outset of both the skill-training and the counselling agencies also proved beneficial. UNH-NYC staff took special pains to reinforce training content back at the UNH-NYC Centers. For example, one counsellor spent several hours over a period of weeks helping enrollees to understand the key punch manual. When frequent absences occurred, counsellors made home visits or telephone calls to ascertain causes.

During the first two or three weeks of training, SETAB's progress reports indicated that eight enrollees were functioning on an average to quite good basis. One appeared to be generally slow and another had difficulty comprehending some of the technical materials. Mid-point grades showed that seven young people were still doing well. Two enrollees, however, were absent frequently. The fourth week, the height of the flu epidemic, was plagued by absenteeism although four young people continued to show real progress. UNH-NYC and SETAB staff met and decided that the former should call for the problem enrollees at home and escort them to SETAB. SETAB was already helping enrollees to make up missed sessions by providing six hours training per day instead of three, despite the additional burden on teaching staff.

Final grades for the group were: two A's; one A-; four B's; and three F's. Of those who did well, three could execute between 6,000 and 7,000 sph (strokes per hour) and three between 4,000 and 5,000 sph. There is no score available for the seventh "satisfactory" enrollee.

SETAB referred the most able enrollee to two agencies which the school had used in the past for job placement. The enrollee was rejected by both on the grounds that she lacked a high school diploma. Undoubtedly the company should have been briefed on the background of the applicant before the interview, including the fact that she was soon to take her high school equivalency exam. She subsequently received an excellent score on

this examination. Because of this experience, it was decided to assign job placement to UNH-NYC's Job Developer who had already established personal relationships with a number of companies. Twenty companies were called about key punch openings. Three enrollees were hired in permanent positions. One firm which recruited temporary key punchers for other companies hired the remaining four. The latest information indicates that these seven are still working: three as key punch operators ($70-$80 per week), one as a key punch trainee in an MA program ($70 per week), one as a key punch verifier ($90 per week), one as a typist ($80 per week). One of the former trainees is the girl with the full four year college scholarship already cited. Of the three unemployed enrollees: one is pregnant but plans to pursue key punch after her baby is born, with a brief refresher course promised by SETAB at no cost; one was referred to a job, did not qualify for key punch and refused a clerical position; one accepted a key punch position stayed only two days and was referred by UNH-NYC to two additional openings at the end of the report period.

CHAPTER V

JOB DEVELOPMENT

UNH-NYC did not have its own Job Developer until shortly before the special program began. Counsellors and crew chiefs sent youngsters to City and State employment agencies when they seemed "ready" or when the staff learned of some particularly good openings. The first effort of the full-time Job Developer was to seek out the names of all employers of UNH-NYC graduates. The Job Developer telephoned these firms to introduce himself and to arrange for a meeting with a company representative so that future job openings would be made available to UNH-NYC.

Newspapers and bulletins from the City Youth Corps were another major source of employment opportunities. The Job Developer followed up on all want-ads that sounded promising, on news stories about companies involved in training the hard-core, on informationals which described opportunities above entry-level. He telephoned the firms to find out more as to specific qualifications, starting salary, upgrading and training potential. Several calls were usually necessary before the correct spokesman was reached. In addition to obtaining fuller information about the job than could be learned from newspaper or public agency listing, he also informed the company about the counselling, remediation and other services which youngsters had received in the UNH-NYC program. He stressed his willingness to prescreen candidates in terms of their maturity, interest in the job, etc. He generally asked for an opportunity to talk with the employer (or his representative) in person.

The Job Developer made a special point of explaining the role of United Neighborhood Houses as administrator of the Youth Corps. Employers were responsive to UNH's long and honorable record of achievement. Current newspaper exposés of alleged wrongdoing by Youth Corps employees in other agencies had gravely damaged the reputation of the entire program.

Many employers asked rather detailed questions about the young people themselves. What kinds of personal problems did they have? How did UNH-NYC staff handle them? Would the Job Developer be available should problems arise after placement? The Job Developer's ability to answer the questions and his willingness to stay in the picture if the enrollee were hired often overcame employer skepticism about unskilled drop-outs.

As soon as UNH learned about the MA-4 program[3] and the opportunities it offered, efforts were made, without success, to obtain the names of MA-4 employers in New York

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[3] A Department of Labor program under which private employers hire the hard-core and receive government funds to cover the costs of training, remediation, counselling and other special services to increase the productivity of these employees.

City from government agencies. A list was finally acquired from private sources. Each of the thirty-three firms on it was contacted. Most had already filled their slots, but UNH was able to establish contact for future openings. One large consortium was just getting underway. UNH-NYC talked with its staff at some length about providing eligible trainees. An informal arrangement was worked out whereby UNH-NYC referred several enrollees for job interviews and testing each week. Twenty-six were sent over during the report period; fourteen were accepted. The others returned to UNH-NYC. During the course of these attempts to obtain MA-4 placements, it became evident that the applicants who were chosen were the "cream". The really "hard-core" (below sixth grade, arrest records, poor English, etc.) were rarely selected.

After locating a job opening or training slot, the Job Developer contacted the counsellors at each Center and described the duties, location, pay and entry requirements of the position. The counsellors sent interested and eligible candidates to the Job Developer for an interview. The Job Developer told the enrollee everything he knew about the opportunity from conversations and visits with the prospective employer. Depending on the young person's reactions and the Job Developer's estimate of him, he decided whether the enrollee should be referred. He might request a more suitable candidate from the counsellors. More often, if the enrollee was interested, he arranged an interview appointment, gave the enrollee exact directions about time and place and tried to instill confidence in the young person about his ability to fill the opening.

The Job Developer contacted the employer immediately after each interview. In cases of rejection, he tried to find the reason and then relayed the information to the enrollee and his counsellor. This involved asking the employer exactly how the applicant's qualifications had been evaluated. If intelligence, aptitude, dexterity or skills tests had been administered, which specific tests had been given, what had been the applicant's scores on each, what were his weaknesses? The Job Developer requested a copy of all test forms so that he could go over them with the enrollee, help him understand why he had been rejected and, if possible, work on the weaknesses revealed. Sometimes the tests were handed over to the remediation teachers so that they could train the enrollees in both the content and techniques of test-taking.

Center staff worked closely with the Job Developer, especially on hard-to-place enrollees. Jane, for example, had completed key punch training with a good rating and was sent out on several job interviews, always to be turned down. The Center Director suspected that Jane's appearance was the obstacle. She was very heavy, sloppy in her dress and grooming. One day the Job Developer learned of an excellent job opportunity in key punch. The applicant had to be at the firm by 2:30 that afternoon. He called the UNH-NYC Center and asked that Jane come to his office immediately. His secretary, a young, attractive girl who knew Jane, took her out to lunch, went with her to buy a scarf and a few other incidentals to enhance her appearance, and helped Jane rearrange her hair. Jane went to the interview and was hired.

If the young person got the job, the Job Developer followed up with the employer and the employee if either contacted him. But his time for follow-through had to be

squeezed out of his full time responsibility for the on-going program. Some employers did report back on poor attendance, tardiness, negative job attitudes. The Job Developer either visited the former enrollee at work, or made arrangements to see the young person after hours. He tried to find out what was causing the problem and then, to the best of his ability, help the employee tackle the difficulty. Now and then employers called to report good performance. One girl had been hired as a temporary file clerk. After two weeks on the job, the employer telephoned to say he was extremely pleased. He wished he could keep her on as a permanent worker, but she had no skills. The Job Developer made a quick survey of available typing courses, found one which fitted the girl's time schedule at work so that she could continue supporting herself and persuaded the firm to finance the typing lessons and keep her as file-clerk until she had completed training. The enrollee mastered the typing course and was moved into a permanent position with a fifteen dollar a week increase in salary.

The Job Developer also relayed information about High School Equivalency examination time, locations, registration procedures to those graduates who he knew were interested and ready.

Towards the end of the Report Period, the Job Developer offered to visit companies in order to increase the understanding of front-line supervisors for UNH-NYC graduates. A few invitations were forthcoming. The Job Developer talked informally about what to expect from the enrollees and how to deal with typical problems. He tried to give the supervisors some insight into the issues with which enrollees were confronted off-the-job and how they might be reacting to the new work situation.

CHAPTER VI

FOLLOW-UP INTERVIEWING

One major goal of the UNH-NYC special project was to gather information about the employment of enrollees after they left the program. Without some knowledge about job outcomes and experiences, pre-employment efforts cannot even begin to be assessed. Very few data are readily available other than initial job placement statistics. Experience suggests that these data are apt to be unreliable. Young people sometimes left the job or were discharged after only a few days. Some never reported for the first day's work. The referral agency might have designated a Youth Corpsman as "employed" merely because an interview had taken place and a job had been offered. A simple design was, therefore, prepared to interview graduates and their employers three to six weeks after job placement. Funds from the special grant were used to cover the cost of this survey.

The following material is based on first interviews with 55 graduates and their employers. Interviewing is continuing and a summary of findings will be published at a later date. Correlations have not been possible. Considerably more funds would be needed for this purpose. Despite this and other limitations, the material, we believe, offers insights for more sophisticated follow-up studies as well as clues on how to improve the Youth Corps and similar pre-employment programs.

Availability of Graduates

Before they left UNH-NYC, enrollees were told that interviews would be requested. They were asked to cooperate so that their reactions and experiences could be summarized and published in an effort to improve future pre-employment programs. A five dollar fee would be paid to compensate them for their time and out-of-pocket expenses. About a month after termination, the enrollees were telephoned or written to, requesting an appointment. Although there were some difficulties and a few "no-shows," most responded affirmatively.

Work of Employed Graduates

Of the 55 former enrollees interviewed, 44 were employed at the time of the interview or had worked since leaving UNH-NYC.[4] Thirty-seven were females; 7 were males. They had been on their jobs an average of 4 1/2 weeks (22 working days) at the time of the interview.

Each was asked what type of skill training he or she had received while enrolled in UNH-NYC. Forty-two responded. Six said they had not received any skill training at

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[4] Four were not actually working at the time of the interview.

all. Thirty-four reported that they had completed training in at least one skill area as follows: Early Childhood Education (13);[5] Touch Typing, one complete course (6); Key Punch Operator (6); General Clerical Office Work (6);[6] Touch Typing, two complete courses (5); Filing (2);[6] Maintenance Repair (1).[6] Two of the respondents had started but had not completed a Touch Typing course.

Twelve had completed skill training in several areas as follows: Touch Typing, one complete course, and Key Punch (5); Touch Typing, two complete courses, and Key Punch (2); Touch Typing, one complete course and Filing (2); Touch Typing, two complete courses and Clerical (1); Typing, Clerical and Filing (1); Typing and Early Childhood Education (1).

Most of the enrollees (29) had found their jobs through UNH-NYC. The kinds of companies worked for included: retail stores (8); utilities (6); office temporaries (5); social agencies (4); financial (4); insurance (3); printing (3); advertising (2); publishing (2); entertainment (2); factory (1); guard service (1); dry cleaning (1). One graduate refused to give information about his employer.

Of the 42 graduates who described their particular jobs, seventeen were employed in clerical positions, including light typing. Nineteen of the remaining group were also in white collar work; key punch and business machine operators (6); retail sales clerks (5); telephone operators (4); teacher's aide (1); nurse's aide (1); purchasing clerk (1); security guard (1). Two graduates were in building maintenance; one was an elevator operator; one, a construction worker; one, a factory worker; one, a delivery man.

Two of the employed graduates were working part-time. Of the full-time employees, 36 were working day-time; three, day and evening; two, evenings. We have no report on the other. Most of the young people worked a 35-37 hour week.

The average salary of the full-time employees was $75.40 per week. Earnings ranged from a high of $90 to a low of $64, with the median at $75. The two part-time employees were earning $50 and $54 per week.

Employees' Job Estimates

Forty-three of the former enrollees answered the question, "What do you like about your job?" Four didn't like anything about it. The assets cited by the remaining 39 were:

a. co-workers (17)
b. working conditions (16)

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[5] ECE training was given prior to the Greater New York Fund grant.
[6] These were work experiences at the settlements rather than a formal skill training course.

c. salary (12)
d. interesting work (11)
e. status and upward mobility (7)
f. easy work (6)
g. helpful job supervisor (5)
h. on-the-job training (5)
i. fringe benefits (4)
j. exposure to many people (3)
k. no barriers, acceptance by all (2)

One was impressed with the serious nature of his work: "No fooling around like there was in school."

Respondents were asked to state dislikes about their jobs. Twelve young people stated that they didn't dislike anything. The others voiced the following negatives:

a. nature of work, i.e., boring or unsatisfying or unsuitable (12)
b. co-workers (7)
c. working conditions (5)
d. weekend and/or evening working hours (5)
e. lack of status and/or advancement opportunities (4)
f. salary (2)
g. dangerous job location (2)
h. temporary nature (2)
i. lack of supervision (1)
j. no free lunch (1)

Two enrollees disliked everything about their jobs.

Twenty-seven of the former enrollees had specific ideas about how their jobs could be improved. Seven wanted additional job-related training; six suggested improved working conditions; six wanted more pay; three wanted better hours; two recommended more compatible co-workers; one suggested better equipment; one asked for a more demanding work schedule; and one suggested longer off-the-job breaks.

Of the 44 job holders, 41 gave self-estimates of their job performance. Twelve gave themselves excellent ratings; twenty-seven rated themselves as "good," "fine," "okay," etc.; two felt that they were not doing well. A number who gave themselves a "good" rating recognized need for improvement. ("I have progressed, not to the extent I wanted to..."; "doing fine but co-workers said I was a bit slow..."). One of the two workers who rated himself poorly stated, "I've been late every day. They are not strict enough."

Supportive Services

Only fourteen job-holders were receiving counselling. Seven were being helped by company staff; four were receiving assistance from their former UNH-NYC counsellors; a relative, a parole officer and an East Harlem clinic, respectively, were helping the others. Seven of the fourteen saw their counsellors at least once a week; one saw someone three times a week; another, twice a week. Five had contact "whenever necessary." Two received intermittent help. The problems covered in counselling sessions included: 1) job-related difficulties; 2) personal and family problems; 3) obtaining a high school equivalency diploma. Thirteen of the fourteen felt the counselling was helpful.

Twenty-six (more than two-thirds of those who responded to the question) expressed an interest in obtaining counselling services. Fifteen wanted "someone to talk to"; four felt that counselling might strengthen their determination and ability to get ahead; four thought it would be helpful in making their own assessment of their job performance; the other two were confused about various problems and wanted help.

In a further effort to determine whether and what kind of counselling might be helpful, the 44 job-holders were asked if any outside worries interfered with their work. Twelve cited such concerns. Five had family problems which not only worried them on the job but also often caused them to be late or absent from work. These off-the-job worries included: a) a father's safety in his store; b) beatings from father; c) lack of babysitter; d) concern over a sister's new baby; e) an ill grandmother. Three respondents said they were often late or absent due to evening activities, including singing at a nightclub and education classes. Other problems which interfered with the job were: a) poor health; b) bad housing; c) transportation to and from the job. Only one of the twelve appeared to have taken concrete action to tackle her problem. One girl, troubled by poor health, arranged for medical treatment. The remaining 11 expressed hopes of working things out.

Eight job-holders were attempting to improve their educational skills after working hours. Seven attended public high school classes; one, a private commercial school. Their courses included: English (6); Typing (3); World History (2); Bookkeeping (2); Business Machines (1); Afro-American History (1); American History (1); Mathematics (1); and Biology (1). It should be noted that apparently none of the MA-4 job-holders, except those in banks, was receiving or had received any remedial education from the employer although this is a supportive service which the MA program requires.

Twenty-five young people were interested in further remediation. Twelve wanted a high school diploma; six had a general desire to learn more; and five thought remediation would help them "get ahead". Five of those who stated they were not interested were already in classes.

Opinions about UNH-NYC

Thirty-six of the 44 job-holders thought that UNH-NYC experience had been useful to them in the present job. Remediation was the service most frequently mentioned (13

enrollees). Twelve referred to counselling. Eleven cited skill training. Ten had been helped to develop punctuality and regular attendance. Eight praised their work experience. Seven believed that their self-confidence had increased.

There were several negative comments about UNH-NYC. Five graduates criticized the skill training. It didn't adequately prepare them for a good job. Another pointed out that she was working as a file clerk, a job she could have gotten without UNH-NYC experience. One deplored the City's payroll procedures which were always "messing up checks". One girl thought the staff had been too lenient; another hadn't liked the other enrollee's inattentiveness during classes.

Drop-Outs

Eleven of the 55 former enrollees, 10 female and one male, had left the Neighborhood Youth Corps of their own volition and, at the time of the interview, had not been employed since leaving the Corps. The young man had returned to high school and hoped to graduate in a few months. He was interested in entering college and asked the interviewer for help in finding out where and how to apply. Five of the girls dropped out because they were pregnant. Another left because she had been unable to make adequate child care arrangements for a young baby.

Only five of the ten girls expressed any interest in finding a job. One had taken the key punch training course and hoped to take a refresher course as soon as her baby was old enough. Eight youngsters wanted further education and apparently saw no way of obtaining it except by returning to the Neighborhood Youth Corps. Remedial education was the UNH-NYC service most frequently mentioned by the drop-outs, as well as the jobholders, as having been helpful.

Interviews With Employers

Forty-two of the forty-four firms which employed UNH-NYC graduates were interviewed. Workers had been on the job for an average of 33 working days (six and one half weeks) when the interview took place. Of the 42 respondents, 16 were immediate supervisors of the employee; 13 were in personnel departments; 6 were office managers; 3 were training instructors; 1 was the associate to the director; 1 was the controller. We do not have information on the identity of the remaining two. Twenty interviews were conducted at the job site; 19 were done by telephone; 2 took place at other locations; one was a mailed response.

The interviewing did not always produce adequate responses. Telephone interviewing, for example, sometimes brought forth extremely sparse answers. A few of the employees had worked too short a time for the employer to supply some of the answers (ratings, for example). Whenever the immediate supervisor could not be questioned, responses were apt to be less useful. Efforts were always made to talk to the supervisor, but some company spokesman declared that this was "impossible," "not company policy," etc. Some of

these difficulties undoubtedly resulted from insufficient understanding by the respondents as to the purpose and proposed use of the survey. Better trained and more closely supervised interviews could, we believe, produce more fruitful data. Recognizing the limitations of the current material, it does provide some picture of UNH-NYC graduates' performance during their first weeks on the job.

Absences

Thirty-five of the forty-two employers supplied information on attendance. The average rate of absence[7] for thirty-five employees was 8%; the median, 4%. Ten employees who had worked an average of 17 work days (3 1/2 weeks) had never been absent. The twenty-five employees who had been absent from the job at least once averaged a considerably longer working period (39 days or almost eight weeks) with the absenteeism rate per worker averaging 11.4% and the median, 7%. Looking at absences slightly differently, this group of 25 was employed a total of 996 days. The total working days missed by absenteeism was 72 or 7.2% of employed days. Interestingly enough, the ten UNH-NYC graduates who were on the job longer than the average evidenced a lower absentee rate, 3.4%.

Lateness

Tardiness rates were lower than absence rates with a 4% average. This may have resulted from less careful record-keeping on the part of the firm. Twenty-six graduates who had worked an average of six weeks had never been late for work. The other ten employees, with an average working period of eight weeks, had a high tardiness rate averaging 16.5%, with a median of 13%.

Performance and Attitude Ratings

Respondents were asked to rate UNH-NYC graduates as excellent, good, fair or poor in a number of specific areas.

A) Skill Performance (33 responses)

Two-thirds of the employees received excellent ratings (18%) or good ratings (48%). Twenty-seven percent were considered fair, and six percent poor. Employers were asked to cite illustrations for fair or poor ratings. Four mentioned inadequate typing skills; two were critical of the employee's slowness; one employer stated that the employee was "totally untrained" for clerical work; another felt that the worker did not have the intelligence for clerical work; one employee had erred on 12.9% of the test calls she had been asked to make; and one employee could not handle a cash register adequately.

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[7] The proportion of days, absent, to days, employed.

B) Attentiveness (32 responses)

Close to four-fifths of the employees were rated excellent (16%) or good (63%). Nine percent were rated fair; and twelve percent, poor. Elaboration of the latter two categories was in general terms, "lacks initiative", "day dreams", "general lack of interest", "put's up a good front and that's all."

C) Ability to Take Direction (34 responses)

Seventy-seven percent were rated excellent (18%) or good (59%). Twelve percent were considered fair; eleven percent, poor. Only one comment casts light on the last two categories: "feels she is above the intelligence level of others, and starts working before directions are given." Other comments merely used different words to repeat the basic rating.

D) Persistence (33 responses)

Three-fourths of the employees were considered excellent (9%) or good (67%). The remaining workers were rated fair (15%) and poor (9%). Again, only one employer illuminated his rating to any degree: "She left the job after three weeks, not telling anyone why, probably to find another job. After a couple of weeks she called us saying she was now ready to work for us again. But of course we'd filled the job."

E) Relations With Fellow Workers (32 responses)

Most workers (91%) rated well in this category: 28% excellent and 63% good. Only three of the 32 workers were considered fair; none received a poor rating.

F) Desire To Get Ahead (27 responses)

Seventy-eight percent of the workers were considered excellent (22%) or good (56%). Fair or poor, each, accounted for 11%. Some of the comments for those rated in the latter categories were: "It will take time for the employee to feel comfortable enough to want to get ahead"; "Absent every other day"; "No get up and go and to make matters worse, resented some of the jobs she was given"; "Did what she was told to do and that's all."

G) Ability to Get Ahead (27 responses)

Seventy-two percent of the workers were rated excellent (12%) or good (60%); 20%, fair; 8% poor. The employer of one of the "Fair" workers predicted that the rating would soon change "if she continues to improve."

Twenty-five of the forty-two employers had additional comments about the employees. Fifteen praised the employees' performance and attitudes. Some of the favorable comments noted the worker's warmth and understanding with children; willingness to learn; neatness

and good appearance; mature attitude toward work; enthusiasm for new learning opportunities; reliability; intelligence; diligence. One employer expressed deep regret that the employee had left him for another job.

Ten employers had negative comments. Four stated that the former enrollees needed constant supervision and help. Two felt they were not reliable; one, that the worker had no desire to get ahead. Two suggested the need for additional education in math and diction. One employer stated that the young person had left the job on the first day, saying she couldn't do the work assigned. It had been a fairly simple task, according to the employer, and the worker could certainly have mastered it but for her "total lack of self-confidence." Several other employers also mentioned the need for developing confidence among the UNH-NYC graduates, especially in communicating with and not being afraid of the employer.

The Below-Average Performer

As we have pointed out, it has been impossible to undertake more than simple tabulations of the interview data. However, we have attempted one set of cross tabulations in an effort to ascertain whether youngsters with attendance problems also had performance problems. As the foregoing data indicate, most of the UNH-NYC enrollees did well according to their employers. There were responses to every question, however, which showed that a few youngsters were having difficulties. We have separated out those whose absence rates were higher than the median and examined their performance ratings. All but three showed fair or poor ratings in at least one of the 7 categories. There is some evidence, therefore, that the poor attenders are also likely to be poor performers.

CHAPTER VII

CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

"Mastery of outer space will be considerably easier of achievement than finding a cure for the multiple ills of America's deeply troubled cities."[8] Neither the Neighborhood Youth Corps nor any other single-purpose program can be expected to solve the deepening urban crisis. But because the Youth Corps was established to assist the victims of these ills, it must be viewed within that context. The special efforts made possible by the Greater New York Fund point to ways and means for strengthening the Youth Corps so that it can assist its target population to move more quickly and firmly out of poverty.

First and most important, considerably more information should be collected on the employment experiences and problems of Youth Corps graduates. A pre-employment program cannot be assessed and, consequently, improved upon unless data are available on the job performance, problems, earnings and achievements of its trainee-graduates over a period of time. Comparisons between former enrollees and matched non-Youth Corps drop-outs would be especially useful. The simple study, summarized earlier, can provide a few guidelines to the questions on which follow-up should focus. It also suggests additional areas for inquiry. For example, most graduates of UNH-NYC did well during the first few weeks on the job. About one-third, however, received fair or poor ratings from employers and had higher than average absence rates. Do "problem workers" show up in other studies? Do they have any special characteristics in respect to age, educational skill level, in-the-home factors? How, if at all, do their jobs and/or supervision and/or educational skills etc. differ from those of the good performers? Once these and other analyses of job-outcome data are made, it may be possible to predict what kinds of trainees are apt to experience difficulties in specific kinds of job-situations and, then, to program pre-employment services accordingly.

In conjunction with the collection of follow-up data, we also urge the provision of follow-through services to ease and, if possible, eliminate the job-impeding obstacles which those data disclose. A few weeks or months in a pre-employment program can, at best, enable the young person to move a few steps forward toward self-confidence, educational and work skills, upward economic mobility. Clearing away impediments to increasing productivity is a complex, long-term task. Constructive beginnings during a pre-employment program can fade quickly without sustained effort. Initial gains may be counteracted or even reversed. It is absurd to assume that all or even most unskilled school drop-outs from poverty backgrounds can overcome their job-related handicaps after a few weeks in the Youth Corps.

How much and what kind of follow-through services are both feasible and useful?

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[8] New York Times, July 20, 1969, Section 8, Page 1.

Do all enrollees need the same degree of follow-through? Because there is such a dearth of empirical material, we can only guess at possible answers. The UNH-NYC interviews with employers and graduates showed that about 30% of the young people neither wanted nor appeared to need follow-through help when visited a few weeks after job-placement. Many in this category were in MA-4 and similar programs which provided on-the-job counselling, remediation and skill-training. But other graduates in regular placements were also "making it." Nona, for example, had left the Youth Corps. She found herself a job in a small dress store as a sales girl. After several months, she was promoted to head the sales staff. The store's manager gave her an excellent evaluation, and recommended her as manager of another store in the same chain. Nona had enrolled in night school and hoped to have her high school equivalency soon.

The remaining graduates indicated a need and/or desire for help. UNH-NYC staff attempted to assist some of them as part of the special grant program. Sometimes the effort was minimal. Jane, for example, was working at a large company with an excellent skill-training program. She was trying to find a night school program so that she could obtain her high school equivalency. The interviewer had learned from his conversation with her employer that the company sponsored such a program and that it also provided for college courses which the employee could take after hours, elsewhere. Although Jane had worked at the company for several weeks, she hadn't known about these opportunities and took immediate steps to enroll.

Other problems were somewhat more complex and called for knowledge about outside resources and an ability to use them on the part of the follow-through staff. Jack had left his job to take remediation courses so that he could enter a pharmacy college. He had not talked to the college or applied for admission. The remedial program in which he had enrolled did not have a counselling program. The interviewer telephoned the City's Neighborhood Youth Corps educational consultant who looked into admission requirements and Jack's educational record. Jack could not possibly qualify without additional course work. The interviewer explained the situation to Jack and his mother. A community college catalog was obtained, and applications were filed.

Lydia quit her job to have a baby. She wanted to go back to work and also hoped to enroll in a high school equivalency class. Day and evening care for her baby had already been arranged. She had visited several public employment centers, found them confusing and unhelpful. The UNH-NYC interviewer arranged for an appointment with ASPIRA, an agency which assists Puerto Rican youth with educational problems and aspirations. UNH-NYC briefed that agency on Lydia's background and goals. She was registered in a high school equivalency course, sent out on several job interviews and was awaiting results at this writing.

Diane had dropped out of the Youth Corps when her family's apartment was destroyed by fire and they were forced to move to another borough. She worked briefly for a telephone answering service, having had some experience at the settlement house switchboard. But her skills were insufficient. There was no in-service training to improve them and the

company let her go. She took the telephone company test, which she had learned about at the Youth Corps, and failed. She also asked the school in her neighborhood about high school equivalency. They had no program and told her to contact the Board of Education. She tried but couldn't wend her way to the right person. She had visited several employment agencies, but the jobs offered were unskilled (stock clerk, waitress). The interviewer with the help of the Job Developer arranged for an interview with an MA-4 program which could help prepare her for high school equivalency and develop her skills. If she is not accepted, UNH-NYC will continue to assist her in obtaining further educational skills and productive employment.

Sandra worked in a department store and a restaurant, but didn't like either job. She wanted to work with children. She had enrolled in a night school educational program before she left the Youth Corps. Although her reading scores had surpassed twelfth grade within a few months, a year passed before the school advised her to apply for the high school equivalency test. She sent a money order to Albany, as instructed, but nothing happened. The school told her to be patient. After several months the Post Office reported that the money order had been lost. She sent a second application. Again there was no word as to a testing date. She repeatedly asked her counsellor at the night school what to do and was told that the test date would be granted "any day." After seven months, she gave up and stopped attending classes. UNH-NYC, after her interview revealed all these facts, set up a high school equivalency test date and telephoned schools and day-care centers to try to place her as a bi-lingual child-care para-professional. She was hired by a summer program and tentatively placed in a year-round experimental project to start in the fall.

Jack was a shipping clerk at the time of the interview, working overtime at minimum wages with several hours travel time to and from work. His furnished room was covered with examples of his painting, and he expressed a strong desire to continue education. But he could not afford to lose the $90 a week he was earning, and he got home too late to attend night school. Months earlier he had filed an application for Harlem Prep but never heard from them. UNH-NYC called Harlem Prep. They had no record of his application and, in any case, were not taking any new students until September 1970. UNH-NYC talked to a publishing company with an excellent MA-4 program in graphics as well as high school equivalency preparation. Jack was scheduled for an interview.

Some of the follow-through attempted by UNH-NYC will probably prove futile. The problems involved call for long-term professional assistance, a service which UNH-NYC cannot provide directly and will have difficulties arranging with any other agency. Sonya did not like her filing job at the insurance company, complaining to the interviewer that it was dull, not enough to do. She said she tried to get into the company's typing training program, but kept being put off, finally took the test on a "broken" machine and failed. UNH-NYC offered to let her use its typewriter for practice after work. Her job was only four blocks away and she finished several hours before the UNH-NYC office closed. She did not pick up on the offer. The interviewer checked back with her former UNH-NYC counsellor. Sonya had experienced many difficulties in the Youth Corps. She

was often unhappy, possibly because of conflicts at home, had trouble with other enrollees, resented staff attempts at guidance.

The supervisor at the insurance company reported that Sonya hadn't qualified for typing training because she was unable to execute 10 words per minute. He had offered to let her practise during lunch hour or before work on office typewriters but she had never done so. UNH-NYC talked with Sonya again about practising typing so that she could enter the training program. Even if she makes the effort and is accepted into the training program, her problems are likely to continue. She needs sustained professional help. There is no ready way to find, and have Sonya make use of, such a service.

José illustrates another problem category which neither the Neighborhood Youth Corps, as presently constituted, nor employers can tackle effectively. UNH-NYC had placed him at a bank as a file clerk. He was shifted to a messenger boy job, didn't like it and quit. The UNH-NYC staff spoke to Con Edison about their construction and electrical repair training program, and an interview was arranged. But José reads at a very low level and probably will not be accepted. He wants and needs educational remediation badly, but he must also earn a living. He is, in fact, the truly hard-core. Without considerable effort on the part of some helping agency, his future is extremely bleak.

In addition to follow-up research and follow-through services, we also strongly recommend the inclusion of skill-training in the Neighborhood Youth Corps. Work experience has little value unless the young person has the opportunity to master a few basic functions connected with the work-station to which he is assigned. A school drop-out who has never held a steady job will probably be able to handle only the most menial tasks connected with office work or building maintenance or child care, especially if his on-the-job supervisor is responsible for turning out his own work as building superintendent, switchboard operator, typist, etc. A sheltered work experience can be very useful as job-preparation, but skill-training must be provided.

A great many questions related to skill-training need further exploration. What kinds of skills lend themselves to the Youth Corps format? Our experience with key punch and typing suggests that elementary clerical skills can be mastered by school drop-outs rather quickly, and that good job-placements can be found. We believe that skill-training in building maintenance (carpet-laying, use of cleaning and waxing equipment, simple carpentry and electrical repair), photography, driving (taxi and truck) have similar assets.

On what basis should youngsters be assigned to skill-training? Basic aptitude and a realistic orientation to the job market are essential prerequisites. Who should do the actual training? Rather than centralizing all training in one super-agency, a variety of training resources should be utilized. Uniform standards should be set by government, with frequent performance testing and evaluation. With careful monitoring and supervision by the funding agency, competition among skill-trainers can prove very beneficial in

terms of improved training techniques. The pattern developed by UNH-NYC first with SETAB and then with the keyboard training company can serve as a useful model. The touch-typing program, on the other hand, illustrates how not to use outside training resources. No attempt was made to test progress during or after the course; there was no effort to integrate the typing-trainers and the UNH-NYC counselling and remedial staff into a working team.

Finally, a number of conclusions can be drawn regarding the current supportive services of the Youth Corps: counselling, remediation, assistance with job-impeding "personal" obstacles. "Reliable knowledge as to the effectiveness of various methods and approaches to recruiting, training, developing the hard-core" is extremely meagre.[9] We have already stressed the need for outcome data on graduates. Also needed are descriptions of what pre-employment services consist of, how the programs work day-by-day. Except for statistics on attendance, required for payroll purposes, and some educational test scores, records of service rendered and reactions to them are apparently not maintained by Youth Corps agencies.

The special grant enabled UNH-NYC to design a few simple forms for recording service dimensions. Far more experiential recording should be required from Youth Corps agencies. Regular reports on recruitment efforts, remedial materials and techniques, job-impeding problems on which personal assistance is provided with what results -- to mention only a few possibilities -- are the raw material from which "reliable knowledge" can be derived. Record-keeping takes time and record-keepers need training and supervision. At the very least, a few pilot efforts should be addressed to this all-important area.

An examination of UNH-NYC staff records indicates that the counselling-personnel assistance component of Youth Corps services is as important as it is undefined. What are some of the "job-impeding" problems on which counselling should focus? How can they be identified? What techniques and resources are useful in attacking them? Clearly, counselling requires diagnostic as well as treatment skills, psychological guidance as well as practical assistance. There is a tremendous need for explicit guidelines, diagnostic tools, in-service training materials.

UNH-NYC found that health and family problems, particularly the need for reliable day-care for children, accounted for much of the counselling work. The counsellor had to know what resources were available. He also needed the skill and patience to help the enrollee obtain the service. Since the resources (day-care centers, comprehensive health care, good low-rent housing, etc.) were inadequate in almost all instances, latching on to the service required aggressiveness, persistance, imagination.

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[9] Education, Training and Employment of the Disadvantaged. National Industrial Conference Board, 1969, p. 11.

Counsellors recognized the importance of developing the young person's understanding of and confidence in himself. Exhortation and/or amateur psychiatry were not helpful. The ability to "draw out" the enrollee, to listen, to help him to articulate his anxieties, ambivalences and feelings was essential. Role-playing was regarded as an extremely helpful technique in this connection. But the counsellor rarely described his use of this or any other specific technique and the evidence of success.

Getting problems into the open, per se, had little value, in fact might even be damaging unless helpful guidance and therapy followed. Unfortunately, the records are not clear on how the counsellor handled these functions. It is our hunch that those counsellors who proved themselves by enabling youngsters to enjoy a concrete success experience (good job interview; acceptance into high school equivalency program; opportunity to express grievances to Center Director; etc.) won the young person's trust which, in turn, made him receptive to the counsellor's guidance, encouragement and direction.

Remediation, like counselling, requires far more functional rationalization. The Youth Corps has stated the goal: job-related basic education. But it has not provided systematic assistance on the implementation of that goal. What tests should be used to measure reading and math skills for benchmark purposes? for evaluation of progress? What are the "job-related" materials available and how should they be used? How can the problems created by a constantly changing classroom population be handled? What testing and therapeutic resources are available for non-readers? The UNH-NYC experience reaffirmed the importance of individualized attention from a teacher or tutor and of ability groupings. The Center at which the greatest advances were made in achievement levels was the Center which had additional teaching resources, provided by the settlement. But too little is known about the specific techniques, materials and methods employed. It is important, here, to underscore an encouraging fact: remediation was desired as well as needed by most enrollees. Dropping out of school did not mean that youngsters did not wish to improve their educational skills.

The service to enrollees which was recorded most completely during the special program was job-development and placement. We strongly recommend the continuation of this function within the pre-employment program, provided that data on employment outcomes indicate effective work on the agency's part. The UNH-NYC Job Developer was able to establish and build upon his individual relationships with employers, Center staff and enrollees over a period of months. He made an effort to acquaint himself with each company's needs, working conditions and outlook. He attempted to distinguish between those that appeared to have promising opportunities and those with a poor prognosis for Youth Corps graduates. The follow-up interviewing was extremely helpful in this process by shedding additional light on the company and by increasing their confidence in UNH-NYC as a responsible referral source.

We believe that hard-core enrollees need tailor-made placement of this kind. The Job Developer rarely sent an enrollee to an interview without first conferring with the Center staff about the job and getting from them their views about the applicant. Often

the Job Developer knew the enrollee-candidate from prior visits to the Center in connection with his work. If he did not, and usually, even if he did, he met with the applicant to discuss the job, advise on application procedures and assess the young person's interest in and qualifications for the opening. He always checked on the outcome with the employer and the enrollee. When referral was unsuccessful, he attempted to get at the reasons and work out remedies. Sometimes this required a conference with Center staff about further remediation or additional help with grooming. The enrollee was called in and given the facts about rejection and, at the same time, counselled on next steps. If the rejection was on the part of the young person, the Job Developer tried to get at the reasons and, if they appeared to be specious, worked with Center staff to help the enrollee to modify his attitude.

This kind of individualized approach to employer and employee produces far better results than computerized methods can achieve at this time. Day-by-day team-work between the Job Developer and the service staff, on the one hand, and the Job Developer and company personnel, on the other, can provide a job placement that lasts and leads upward. The procedure followed by many public employment programs -- a telephone call or written listing from an employer and a brief one-time encounter with a job-seeker -- is no substitute. Locating the job development and placement function with a Youth Corps sponsor will cause a certain amount of duplication of effort. But removing this function may result in far greater costs as a consequence of poor job placements. The better the knowledge of the Job Developer about the applicant and the opening and the stronger his relationship with the prospective employer and employee, the more successful the placement.

"There is an infinite variety of barriers between a disadvantaged man and a job opening which we did not know existed a few years ago... We must...get to know and understand these barriers to set solutions in motion, define more clearly what the man must do to prepare himself and what the company must do to receive him... The handicaps of the disadvantaged are enormous... A costly program of training, education and orientation over a long period will be required."[10]

Mr. Lewis' statement sums up our findings. Despite the ability to put men on the moon, this nation is at a very primitive stage, technologically, in its efforts to enable slum victims to place their feet firmly on even the first rung of the economic ladder out of poverty. The Neighborhood Youth Corps and other pre-employment programs should, at the very least, promote public awareness of the complexities involved, and the need for a more sustained and systematic attack on them. Baseless claims of total success, of instant remedies are bound to boomerang. A genuine effort must be made to describe, assess and evaluate as objectively as possible the services and techniques currently in use. There is always the risk that enemies of the effort will seize upon negative findings to destroy the infant program. But unless that risk is taken, no attack on hard-core unemployment and under-employment can succeed.

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[10] Address by Roger Lewis, Plans for Progress National Conference, Washington, D.C., March 20, 1969